

Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 COPENH 00661 01 OF 02 280823Z

11

ACTION IO-11

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02

INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15

USIA-06 SAM-01 AID-05 TRSE-00 OMB-01 EB-07 /084 W

----- 055852

R 271640Z FEB 76

FM AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2279

INFO AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY DUBLIN

AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

AMEMBASSY HELSINKI

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG

AMCONSUL MONTREAL

AMEMBASSY OSLO

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY REYKJAVIK

USMISSION EC BRUSSELS

USMISSION NATO

USMISSION OECD PARIS

USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 COPENHAGEN 0661

ROME FOR FAO

MONTREAL FOR ICAO

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PORG PFOR US DA

SUBJ: MULTILATERAL AFFAIRS: REQUEST FOR MULTILATERAL
INFORMATION ON HOST GOVERNMENTS.

REF: STATE 037591

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 COPENH 00661 01 OF 02 280823Z

1. AS THE DEPARTMENT IS AWARE, DENMARK'S FOREIGN POLICY MACHINERY IS MORE FRACTURED THAN MIGHT BE EXPECTED IN A SMALL COUNTRY. IN EFFECT, THERE ARE TWO FOREIGN MINISTERS, EACH WITH A SUPPORTING BUREAUCRACY, K. B. ANDERSEN, WHO IS SENIOR, IS THE "MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS". HIS FOREIGN MINISTRY HANDLES POLITICAL AND JURIDICAL AFFAIRS. THE MINISTER FOR FOREIGN ECONOMIC AFFAIRS, IVAR NORGAAARD, IS RESPONSIBLE FOR FOREIGN ECONOMIC AFFAIRS AND FOREIGN AID. THERE IS, UNFORTUNATELY, RIVALRY BETWEEN THE TWO BUREAUCRACIES AND SURPRISINGLY LIMITED CONTACT BETWEEN THEM, EVEN THOUGH BOTH ARE STAFFED BY FSO'S.

2. AS IN MANY COUNTRIES, DECISIONS ON MULTILATERAL ISSUES ARE USUALLY MADE ON THE BASIS OF ADVICE FROM THE INDIVIDUAL FOREIGN AFFAIRS OFFICIALS CONCERNED IN THE LIGHT OF PERCEIVED POLITICAL REALITIES.

3. DURING DISCUSSION OF OTHER BUSINESS AT MFA, POLCOUNS TOOK OPPORTUNITY TO BRING UP SOME OF THE CONSIDERATIONS MENTIONED IN REFTEL WITH THE CHIEF OF THE POLITICAL DIVISION'S THIRD OFFICE, BENT HAAKONSEN. HAAKONSEN IS PROBABLY THE CLOSEST THING TO A "MULTI-LATERAL AFFAIRS OFFICER" THAT THE DANISH FOREIGN AFFAIRS ESTABLISHMENT POSSESSES. HE QUALIFIES IN THIS RESPECT BECAUSE THE OFFICE HE HEADS INCLUDES UN AFFAIRS AS WELL AS RELATIONS AMONG THE NORDIC COUNTRIES.

A) WHAT ARE YOUR COUNTRY'S PRIMARY MULTILATERAL INTERESTS AND OBJECTIVES IN 1976?

IN DISCUSSING DENMARK'S PRIMARY MULTILATERAL INTERESTS AND OBJECTIVES IN 1976, HAAKONSEN OBSERVED THAT IT WAS ALMOST IMPOSSIBLE TO LAY OUT THESE OBJECTIVES. HE REMARKED , FOR EXAMPLE, THAT HIS COUNTRY HAD NOT YET BEGUN TO FOCUS ON UN MATTERS LIKELY TO COME UP AT THE NEXT GERNAL ASSEMBLY. HE AND HIS NORDIC COLLEAGUES HAD SO FAR DISCUSSED IN ONLY THE VAGUEST WAY SUPPORT FOR POSSIBLE CANDIDACIES FOR POSITIONS IN MULTILATERAL ORGANIZATIONS.

HE WENT ON TO OBSERVE, AND WE CONCUR, THAT THE DANES
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 COPENH 00661 01 OF 02 280823Z

DO NOT ORDINARILY TAKE POSITIONS OF LEADERSHIP IN INTERNATIONAL BADIES AND TEND TO REACT TO SITUATIONS AND ISSUES AS THEY ARISE. WE MIGHT ADD, HOWEVER, THAT THE DANISH REACTION BASED ON TRADITIONAL DANISH ATTITUDES IN INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS IS OFTEN PREDICTABLE. FOR EXAMPLE, ALTHOUGH THERE WERE CONTRARY PRESSURES FORM THE OTHER NORDICS, DANISH SUPPORT FOR THE US POSITION ON KOREA IN THE LAST GENERAL ASSEMBLY WAS WELCOME BUT

NOT UNEXPECTED, ALTHOUGH IT TOOK SOME LAST MINUTE ARM-TWISTING.
HAD, HOWEVER, THE PRESENT SOCIAL
DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT BEEN DEPENDENT ON THE SOCIALIST
PEOPLES PARTY FOR ITS VIABILITY (AS WAS THE PREVIOUS
ANKER JORGENSEN GOVERNMENT, 1971-73), THE DANES WOULD
PROBABLY NOT HAVE FOLLOWED US ALL THE WAY ON KOREA.

B) EXTENT OTHER COUNTRIES AND GROUPS AFFECT DENMARK'S
MULTILATERAL POLICYMAKING.

THE DANES SAY THAT THEIR FOREIGN POLICY RESTS ON FOUR
PILLARS: NATO, THE EC, THE NORDIC CONNECTION, AND THE UN.
ON PRACTICAL MATTERS OF TECHNICAL AND JURIDICAL
COOPERATION, PARTICULARLY AS THEY AFFECT THE INDIVIDUAL
LIVES OF THE CITIZENS OF THESE COUNTRIES, THE NORDIC
CONNECTION LOOMS LARGE. AS HAS BEEN POINTED OUT BY
THIS EMBASSY AND BY OUR EMBASSIES IN THE OTHER NORDIC
CAPITALS, ON IMPORTANT INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL QUESTIONS,
THE NORDIC CONNECTION MEANS MUCH LESS. IN THIS AREA,
"NORDIC COOPERATION" IS OFTEN REDUCED TO THE LEVEL OF THE
RHETORIC WHICH DANISH POLITICIANS FEEL THEY MUST INVOKE
FOR THE SAKE OF DANISH PUBLIC OPINION.

THE DANES HAVE BEEN LONG AND STRONG SUPPORTERS OF
THE UN SYSTEM, AND DENMARK IS ONE OF THE COUNTRIES
THAT HAS FORCES EARMARKED FOR USE IN UN PEACEKEEPING
MISSIONS. IN THE UN, AND IN FACT IN ALL INTERNATIONAL
ORGANIZATIONS OF WHICH THEY ARE A MEMBER, THE DANES
TEND TO FEEL THAT THEIR NATIONAL SIZE AND IMPORTANCE
ARE MAGNIFIED BY THEIR PARTICIPATION IN THESE BODIES.
ALTHOUGH CONSIDERABLE SUPPORT FOR THE UN SYSTEM REMAINS,
THE DANES HAVE BEEN DISILLUSIONED BY THE SAME EVENTS
THAT WE HAVE, ALTHOUGH NOT TO THE SAME EXTENT.

IN THE EC NINE CONTEXT, THE DANES ARE BEING DRAWN
INTO EVER-INCREASING POLITICAL COOPERATION AND, IN
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 COPENH 00661 01 OF 02 280823Z

THE CASE OF ANGOLA, WERE AMONG THE COUNTRIES IN
THE LEAD. THEY WERE DEEPLY TROUBLED BY THE FRENCH
UNILATERAL ACTION ON ANGOLAN RECOGNITION. FOREIGN
MINISTER ANDERSEN WAS AMONG THOSE WHO PROPOSED THIS
WEEK IN LUXEMBOURG THAT THE EC NINE CONSULT MORE
CLOSELY AND MORE OFTEN ON POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS IN
SOUTHERN AFRICA.

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 COPENH 00661 02 OF 02 280829Z

16

ACTION IO-11

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02

INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15

USIA-06 SAM-01 EB-07 AID-05 TRSE-00 OMB-01 /084 W

----- 055888

R 271640Z FEB 76

FM AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2280

INFO AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY DUBLIN

AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

AMEMBASSY HELSINKI

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG

AMCONSUL MONTREAL

AMEMBASSY OSLO

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY REYKJAVIK

USMISSION EC BRUSSELS

USMISSION NATO

USMISSION OECD PARIS

USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 COPENHAGEN 0661

ROME FOR FAO

MONTREAL FOR ICAO

ALTHOUGH THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC LEADERS SEE THE
VALUE OF INCREASED POLITICAL COOPERATION IN THE CONTEXT
OF THE NINE AS IMPORTANT, THEY MUST BE CAREFUL IN
DEMONSTRATING IN DENMARK THE AWARENESS OF THIS VALUE.
THERE REMAINS SIGNIFICANT PUBLIC
WARINESS HERE OF POLITICAL COOPERATION WITH THE NINE.
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 COPENH 00661 02 OF 02 280829Z

DANISH MEMBERSHIP IN NATO APPEARS TO BE A SOLIDLY
ACCEPTED FACT FOR THE DANISH PEOPLE. IT IS OUR

IMPRESSION THAT THE DANES TAKE FEW INITIATIVES IN THE NATO CONTEXT BUT ON THE OTHER HAND CAN BY NO MEANS BE STAMPEDED TO GO ALONG WITH PROPOSALS THAT THEY DOUBT ARE IN DANISH NATIONAL INTEREST. THE DANISH POSITION ON THE ACQUISITION BY NATO OF AWACS IS ONLY THE MOST RECENT EXAMPLE. IT IS APPARENTLY BASED NOT ONLY ON THE COST TO DENMARK OF SUCH A SYSTEM BUT ALSO BECAUSE OF DOUBTS THAT THE DANISH MILITARY HOLD RE THE TECHNICAL AND TACTICAL ASPECTS OF AWACS.

ON CSCE, THE TWO AREAS IN WHICH THE DANES HAVE SHOWN MOST INTEREST ARE BASKET THREE AND FOLLOWUP. THEY ALSO BELIEVE THEY WERE THE INITIATORS OF THE PROPOSAL TO LODGE A MONITORING AND CONSULTATIVE POST-FINAL ACT MECHANISM IN NATO HEADQUARTERS.

ON LAW OF THE SEA, TWO AREAS TO WHICH THE DANES DIRECT MUCH ATTENTION ARE THE STRAITS ISSUE AND THE 200-MILE ECONOMIC ZONE. THEIR SENSITIVITY ON THESE TWO ISSUES OBVIOUSLY RESULTS FROM THE GEOGRAPHICAL LOCATION OF METROPOLITAN DENMARK ASTRIDE THE ACCESSES TO THE BALTIC AND FROM THE PROBLEMS OF FISHERMEN IN GREENLAND, THE FAROES AND DENMARK ITSELF.

THE COUNTRIES WHICH CAN MOST INFLUENCE DANISH MULTILATERAL POSITIONS ARE THEIR NATO PARTNERS ON SECURITY MATTERS; THEIR EC NINE PARTNERS ON ECONOMIC AND, INCREASINGLY, POLITICAL MATTERS; AND THE OTHER NORDIC COUNTRIES ON SOME POSITIONS. THE INFLUENCE OF THE US ON DENMARK, ACROSS THE BOARD, IS GREAT. ON THE OTHER HAND, THE DANES WILL STUBBORNLY STICK TO POSITIONS THEY HAVE TAKEN WHICH THEY REGARD BOTH AS LOGICAL AND IN DANISH NATIONAL INTEREST.

C) DOES HOST GOVERNMENT FULLY INSTRUCT ITS DELS TO MAJOR INTERNATIONAL MEETINGS?

THE DANISH FOREIGN SERVICE, THOUGH SMALL, IS FIRST-RATE AND RECEIVES EFFICIENT ADMINISTRATIVE SUPPORT. TO THE EXTENT THAT THE SIZE OF THE DANISH FOREIGN SERVICE ALLOWS, ITS DELEGATES TO INTERNATIONAL MEETINGS ARE FULLY INSTRUCTED. THE CAPITAL RETAINS EFFECTIVE CONTROL OVER DANISH DELEGATES AT SUCH MEETINGS, CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 COPENH 00661 02 OF 02 280829Z

OUR EXPERIENCE HAS BEEN THAT REPORTING BACK TO COPENHAGEN IS SUFFICIENT TO MAKE INFORMED INSTRUCTIONS FROM THE CAPITAL TIMELY AND REALISTIC.

D) DO DANISH PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVES OR HEADS OF DELEGATION IN INTERNATIONAL FORA HAVE INDEPENDENT POLITICAL POWER WHICH MAKES IT DIFFICULT FOR THE DANISH GOVERNMENT TO CONTROL OR INSTRUCT THEM?

NO.

E) IS HOST GOVERNMENT NORMALLY RECEPTIVE TO US REPRESENTATIONS ON MULTILATERAL ISSUES?

THE DANES ARE ALMOST INVARIABLY WARMLY RECEPTIVE TO US REPRESENTATIONS ON MULTILATERAL ISSUES. THE TWO COUNTRIES, AFTER ALL, AGREE ON MOST ISSUES AND THE DANES PRIDE THEMSELVES ON THEIR GOOD RELATIONSHIP WITH THE US. DANISH ATTITUDES AND HABITS OF MIND ARE VERY CLOSE TO AMERICAN ONES AND ENGLISH IS THE WORKING LANGUAGE OF DANISH MULTILATERAL DIPLOMACY.

ALTHOUGH THE DANES PHILOSOPHICALLY ACCEPT THE IDEA THAT THEIR INTERACTION ON MULTILATERAL ISSUES IS A PART OF BILATERAL RELATIONS, THEY PROBABLY HAVE NOT INTERNALIZED IT TO THE EXTENT THAT WE WOULD WISH. THEY WILL BE RELUCTANT, FOR INSTANCE, TO ACCEPT THAT THEIR ATTITUDES AND POSITIONS ON SOME ASPECTS OF THIRD WORLD MATTERS SHOULD HAVE ANY GREAT EFFECT ON OUR BILATERAL RELATIONS. AT LEAST PART OF THIS FEELING IS A LEGACY OF OUR DIFFERENCES ON SOUTHEAST ASIA AND THE KINDS OF GOVERNMENTS WHICH SHOULD BE ASSOCIATED WITH DENMARK IN ORGANIZATIONS LIKE NATO AND THE EC.

THE DANES RARELY SOLICIT US SUPPORT ON MULTILATERAL MATTERS.

4. POLCOUNS CHARLES E. RUSHING IS EMBASSY MLOS.
DEAN

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: POLICIES, CABINET, CENTRAL LEGISLATURE, INTERGOVERNMENTAL COOPERATION
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 27 FEB 1976
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: saccheem
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1976COPENH00661
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D760075-1131
From: COPENHAGEN
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1976/newtext/t1976026/aaaaaetl.tel
Line Count: 303
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION IO
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 6
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: 76 STATE 37591
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: saccheem
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 30 MAR 2004
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <30 MAR 2004 by ShawDG>; APPROVED <27 JUL 2004 by saccheem>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
04 MAY 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: MULTILATERAL AFFAIRS: REQUEST FOR MULTILATERAL INFORMATION ON HOST GOVERNMENTS.
TAGS: PORG, PFOR, US, DA
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006